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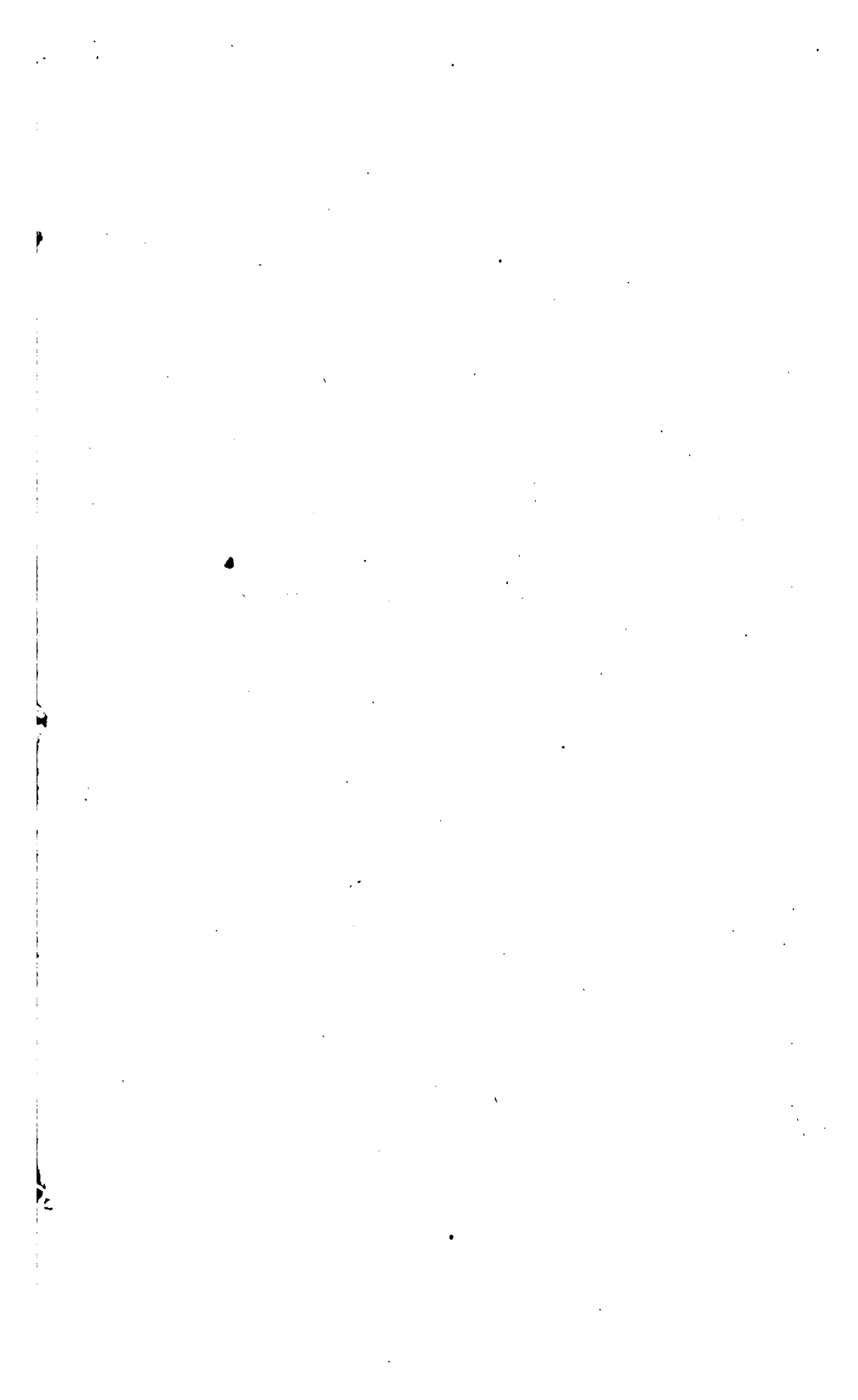
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THE
NOMINATION
OF
PHINEAS C. LOUNSBURY.

A PAMPHLET,

BY

ALBERT H. WALKER,

A MEMBER OF THE HARTFORD BAR,
AND AUTHOR OF WALKER ON PATENTS.

*Hartford, Ct. :
Clark & Smith, Printers.
1886.*

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INTRODUCTION.

On the tenth day of September, I published the following address :

To the People of Connecticut :

One of your number, who has no experience and no expectation of political office, though now and always an ardent Republican in politics, asks permission to address you on a political topic of high patriotic importance, I have seen and heard what convinces me, that the nomination of Phineas C. Lounsbury, for Governor of Connecticut, which was yesterday accomplished in the Connecticut Republican convention, was accomplished by payments and promises which were of the nature of bribery. For this reason, it is my duty to vote against him in the ensuing election, and to use my pen and my voice in preliminary co-operation with my vote. If the Democratic state convention honestly nominates an honest, intelligent and judicious man for Governor, I will support that candidate with whatever strength I can ; and with whatever weakness I support him, I will support him with my whole heart. If that convention does not nominate such a man, I will not support its candidate, and will not cast any vote for Governor at the next election.

In expressing this opinion and announcing this intention, I believe, and have reason to believe, that I truly represent the feelings and the purposes of thousands of Connecticut Republicans. If this opinion is correct, it is now in the power of the Connecticut Democrats to strike a blow for patriotism and for honor ; and to teach mankind that the governorship of our historic state can not be purchased with money. But if the Democratic party can not rise to the occasion, there will still be thousands of Republicans who cannot fall to the level of the Republican party nomination.

ALBERT H. WALKER.

Hartford, Conn., September 10, 1886.

And on the eleventh day of September I published a second address, the first paragraph of which mentioned the topic of the first address, and the last paragraph of which was as follows :

It so happens that I have imperative professional engagements for all of to-day, and for the whole of next week ; but in the week after next, I will write a pamphlet setting forth the facts in the case in such detail, and in such form, as to convince every fair and dispassionate man of the truth of all that I have asserted.

This pamphlet is the performance of that promise ; and its purpose is to set forth, what convinces me, that the nomination

of Phineas C. Lounsbury, for Governor of Connecticut, which was lately accomplished in the Connecticut Republican convention, was accomplished by payments and promises which were of the nature of bribery.

Any payment or promise which would be bribery, if it related to a vote cast at an election established by law, is a payment or promise in the nature of bribery, where it relates to a vote cast at a nominating convention. This distinction was in my mind when I was writing my first address, and I therefore penned my statement in such form as to bring it clearly into view. The transactions which constitute bribery in Connecticut, when they relate to elections established by law, were described in Section 27 of Chapter IX of Title XX of the General Statutes of Connecticut of 1875; and were again described, in exactly the same words, in Section 44 of "An Act relating to Electors and Elections," enacted March 21, 1877. That description is as follows:

"Every person who shall offer or receive anything by way of gift or reward for giving, or refusing to give, a vote at an electors' town, or city meeting; or promise, procure, or in any way confer any gratuity, reward, or preferment for any vote so given, or influence, or attempt to influence any elector to stay away from any such meeting;"

This statutory language justifies us in saying that a payment or a promise is in the nature of bribery, when it fairly comes within the following description, namely: "Every person who shall offer or receive anything by way of gift or reward for giving, or refusing to give, a vote at a nominating convention; or promise, or procure, or in any way confer any gratuity, reward or preferment for any vote so given;"

Indeed, there is a later law which was evidently intended to transfer those transactions which I have set forth in the last paragraph, from the category of acts in the nature of bribery, to the category of technical bribery itself. That later Act is "An Act relating to Political Primary Meetings, Caucuses, and Conventions," approved May 1, 1883. But this later statute was not drawn with technical accuracy, and may possibly be found to be nugatory when attempted to be applied to certain of those cases which, when they occur at elections established

by law, are undoubtedly covered by the general statute on the subject of bribery at elections. For these reasons, I have designated those transactions which I am convinced accomplished Lounsbury's nomination, as being "payments and promises which were of the nature of bribery," and I have never designated them as being technical bribery itself.

Moreover, I have never said nor written that I have ever personally seen or heard, any payment or any promise, made or given, to accomplish the nomination of Phineas C. Lounsbury for Governor of Connecticut. I am not a spy nor a detective; and no bribe-giver or bribe-taker would be likely to invite me to be present as a witness of his crime. Nobody ever had any reason to suppose that I ever claimed to have any personal direct knowledge of bribery having been committed anywhere in the world. Precisely what I have said, and precisely what I have written and published, is precisely what I now write and now publish again, namely: "I have seen and heard what convinces me, that the nomination of Phineas C. Lounsbury, for Governor of Connecticut, was accomplished by payments and promises which were of the nature of bribery."

This published statement of mine, even if unsupported by any published statement of my reasons for my opinion, would perhaps have some weight with some men. These are men who know me personally, and who know my ardent life-long devotion to the Republican party, and who cannot know of anything but duty which could cause me to repudiate a Republican nomination. But with Connecticut voters in general, my unsupported assertion of my personal opinion, would not be logically entitled to any controlling weight. For this reason, I am now to set forth the facts upon which that published opinion is founded.

STATEMENT OF FACTS.

THE facts which convince me, that the nomination of Phineas C. Lounsbury, for Governor of Connecticut, was accomplished by payments and promises which were of the nature of bribery, are subject to the following four-fold classification.

First. Those facts which relate to the character and circumstances of the candidate.

Second. Those facts which relate to the character and conduct of his primary supporters.

Third. Those facts which indicate the opinion which is really entertained on the subject by his secondary supporters.

Fourth. Those facts which point to specific cases of payments in the nature of bribery.

The first three of these classes of facts belong to the domain of circumstantial evidence; while the fourth class indicates the existence of direct evidence in support of the proposition which all of them will be marshalled to establish.

It is the nature of bribery to be proved by circumstantial evidence, with greater certainty than direct evidence can afford. Direct evidence of bribery must consist of the sworn testimony of an eye or ear witness; or of the sworn testimony of one or both of the parties to the crime; or of a letter or other writing signed by one or both of those parties; or of one or more confessions, made by one or both of those parties, to third persons.

Direct evidence of the first kind can never exist where the criminals take care to be private when committing their crime; and therefore such evidence is nearly always unattainable, no matter how notorious the fact of bribery may be.

Sworn testimony from both the parties to the crime would not relieve either of them from punishment, and therefore can spring from no motive but true repentance. Persons guilty of bribery doubtless come, sooner or later, to an hour when they regret their offense, but there is probably no case on record where that regret induced any such person to take a step leading toward his own punishment. Sworn testimony from one of the parties to the crime, when given at all, is generally given to secure immunity from punishment, and is therefore less reliable than the testimony of an innocent person would be. Besides it is generally contradicted by the other party involved, and is thus still further deprived of probative power.

Letters or other writings, signed by one or both of the parties, even where they may possibly refer to bribery, generally do so in language capable of an innocent construction, no matter how plain their meaning may have been to the eyes of the persons to whom they were addressed or delivered. Such letters prove nothing, because they afford no means of showing that their innocent interpretation is not their true interpretation. The celebrated letter of June 29, 1869, from Mr. James G. Blaine to Mr. Warren Fisher, Jr., is an example of a paper of this type. In that letter Mr. Blaine wrote: "I do not feel that I shall prove a deadhead in the enterprise if I once embark in it. I see various channels in which I know I can be useful." Mr. Carl Schurz always argued and insisted that Mr. Blaine referred to guilty channels, and in my open letter to Mr. Schurz of October 23, 1884, I argued that Mr. Blaine referred to innocent channels of usefulness when writing those words. There was no way to settle the dispute except by recourse to circumstantial evidence. Mr. Schurz never published any thorough investigations in that direction; but in the open letter I did endeavor to go to the bottom of the matter, and did establish, at least to my own satisfaction, the correctness of the innocent interpretation.

Confessions made by both of the parties to a particular case of bribery, are almost as little to be expected as sworn testimony from both of them to establish their own guilt; and a confession of one such party is always liable to be contradicted

by the other, and thus to fall so far short of demonstration as not to be generally believed, except where it is supported by circumstantial evidence.

For these reasons, I have said in a preceding paragraph, and now say again, that it is in the nature of bribery to be proved by circumstantial evidence, with greater certainty than direct evidence can afford. And this, in my opinion, is true of the case of Phineas C. Lounsbury. In explaining that case, I will now set forth the four classes of facts in their order, ending with that class which is assignable to the domain of direct evidence.

First. Those facts which relate to the character and circumstances of the candidate.

I know Mr. Lounsbury personally; having seen him under circumstances which disclosed his character more accurately and more fully in an hour, than years of ordinary acquaintance would disclose it. This was when he called at my office on September 10, 1886, after he had read or heard read, my foregoing address of that day, and endeavored to induce me to withdraw that address from publication. Mr. Lounsbury is a dapper little man, with a handsome face, and full brown hair and beard. But Mr. Lounsbury does not appear to me to be a man of intellect. Intelligent he doubtless is, but so are thousands of other citizens of our State. Indeed I can mention hundreds of Connecticut men, any one of whom would probably be more efficient and more dignified in the Governor's chair, than Mr. Lounsbury could possibly be.

Turning now from his character to his circumstances, I shall confine myself to the statements which he personally made to me. Mr. Lounsbury is president of the Merchants' Exchange National Bank in New York City, and owner of a large block of its capital stock. He is also a stockholder of the American Bank Note Company, in the same city, and a trustee of that corporation. His duties as trustee are substantially those which, in Connecticut, are performed by directors of similar corporations, and they include an active share in the management of its business. Mr. Lounsbury is also the owner of what

to me would be a fair fortune, in railroad stocks and bonds; and is worth in all about half a million of dollars.

But Mr. Lounsbury is not engaged in any business in Connecticut, except money lending. He has no property in this State, except his country place in Ridgefield, a short distance this side of the New York line, and a half interest in a farm in another town, and some isolated minor pieces of real estate elsewhere. He does not employ any laboring man in Connecticut, except the florist and coachman, and other indoor and outdoor help, which he employs in and about his country residence and its adjacent grounds. He does hold mortgages on Connecticut farms, and a nephew of his, who is a partner in a shoe factory in South Norwalk, owes him considerable money. And this creditorship is the only foundation in truth, of that glowing account which Mr. Fessenden gave, in the Hartford convention, of Mr. Lounsbury's almost idyllic relations with his alleged operatives

Except as a persistent candidate for Governor, Mr. Lounsbury is almost wholly unknown in Connecticut. When closely questioned by me, he said he did not know why even Fairfield County should support him for that high office. When I asked him why Windham County delegates should support him, he ascribed their support to the fact that he once made a speech at Henry C. Bowen's Fourth of July celebration at Woodstock, and once delivered an address on Memorial Day somewhere else in the same county; and as to no other county in the State were his answers any more applicable. Indeed, the popular opinion of the man and of his obscurity is exemplified by the prevalent rumor, that when he came to Hartford, the evening after his nomination, the committee of distinguished gentlemen who met him at the railroad station, were obliged to take with them an outsider, to help them to identify him in the crowd alighting from the train.

Second. Those facts which relate to the character and conduct of his primary supporters.

By his primary supporters, I mean those who were his leading advocates in the canvass which preceded his nomination. These

were Samuel Fessenden and Edwin L. Scofield, of Stamford, Lynde Harrison and N. D. Sperry, of New Haven, and Allen W. Paige, a young New York lawyer, whose technical residence is claimed by him to be with his parents in Danbury, Fairfield County. I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Sperry, and no intimate acquaintance with either of the others. It is quite unnecessary for me to say anything to the people of Connecticut, about the public political reputation of Fessenden, Harrison, or Sperry. But I am able to state how those leaders are regarded at present, by some of the very men who are now acting with them in the support of Lounsbury. Since Lounsbury's nomination was accomplished, one of his best known supporters has spoken to me of those three men as "that gang"; and another such supporter has told me, with a tone of keen and pathetic regret that, "the political methods of Lynde Harrison are *bad enough*."

But justice to Mr. Scofield requires me to say that his public reputation is free from those disadvantages which are incident to the reputations of Fessenden, Harrison, and Sperry. My personal acquaintance with him is not confidential; but I have watched his public life ever since he entered our Legislature, and I think him a man of intellect and a man of honor. Had he been nominated for Governor of Connecticut, he would have received my hearty though unimportant support; and I should have escaped the very painful duty which I am now endeavoring to perform. I do not know what arguments he may have used in any endeavor he may have made to assist Mr. Lounsbury's canvass; but I know enough of the man to convince me that he is innocent of all complicity with transactions in the nature of bribery. Deceived by others he doubtless was; but I do not believe him to be chargeable with anything in the nature of crime.

Turning now from the character to the conduct of the primary supporters of Mr. Lounsbury, I must make a painful public disclosure relevant to that acknowledged leader of them all, Samuel Fessenden. There is in Hartford a certain wealthy republican, who is a close personal and political friend of Hon.

William H. Bulkeley; and there is, in the same city, a certain other republican, who is a close personal and political friend of the same distinguished gentleman, and also of the wealthy republican first alluded to. After mature deliberation, and after once nearly deciding to publish the names of both these republicans, I have decided to designate them in this pamphlet as Mr. A. and Mr. B. respectively. I do this to save them from undeserved annoyance, and not because I have any fear that either of them would contradict what I am about to publish, for I know them both personally, and I believe them to be fearless and manly men. This Mr. B. told me, without any injunction of secrecy, that in the Summer of 1884, a few weeks prior to the Connecticut Republican State Convention of that year, Samuel Fessenden called on this Mr. A. and offered to cause William H. Bulkeley to be nominated by that convention, for Governor of Connecticut, upon the payment of \$50,000 to be used in the election. Mr. B. also told me, that Mr. A. told Mr. Fessenden, that William H. Bulkeley would never purchase the Governorship of his native State; and that if Mr. Fessenden had that office in his hands for sale, he could look for a purchaser elsewhere.

I think it was on Buckingham day that this interview occurred between Mr. A. and Mr. Fessenden, and I am certain that on the next day I had a long conference with an uncommonly well informed Connecticut republican politician relevant to the gubernatorial canvass. We thoroughly discussed the ability and the availability of Hon. Henry B. Harrison and of Hon. William H. Bulkeley, but neither of us said a word about Phineas C. Lounsbury. Indeed I did not then know that any such person had ever lived, and I do not believe that the gentleman with whom I was conferring had ever seen Mr. Lounsbury, or ever thought of him in connection with the Governorship.

Soon after this, I called upon the then chairman of the State Republican committee for the express purpose of advocating the nomination of Henry B. Harrison for Governor. That gentlemen spoke in high terms of Mr. Harrison; but said that his

candidacy before the convention was inexpedient; because it would detract from the support of William H. Bulkeley, who would, in any case, receive a larger support than Mr. Harrison; and because it was necessary for the better elements in the Republican party to combine on their strongest man, in order to defeat the nomination of Mr. Lounsbury. This was the first time I had ever heard of Mr. Lounsbury, though I have lived in Connecticut ever since 1879, and have always, since then, kept watch of its public affairs. I inquired: "Who is Lounsbury?" The chairman expressed no surprise at my ignorance of that person; but informed me that he referred to a Mr. P. C. Lounsbury, a business man of New York city, who had a country residence in Ridgefield, Fairfield County, and who was running a money campaign for the nomination for Governor, and who was backed by Sam. Fessenden.

To avert such a nomination as that, I was then and there persuaded by the chairman of the State committee, to transfer my support to William H. Bulkeley, and was soon after invited, with Mr. Bulkeley's cordial concurrence, to go to the New Haven convention as a delegate, and to make an address seconding his nomination. This I accordingly did; but when the *viva voce* vote showed Mr. Harrison to be stronger than Mr. Bulkeley, I joined Mr. S. A. Hubbard, the leader of the Hartford delegation, in transferring our votes to Mr. Harrison. I changed my vote with the approval of the nearest friends of Mr. Bulkeley, and with the avowed purpose of averting Mr. Lounsbury's nomination; and I have always believed that Mr. Hubbard changed his vote with the same approval, and from the same honorable motive.

But before any voting occurred, Mr. Fessenden made a speech urging Mr. Lounsbury upon the convention; and Mr. William C. Case followed with his celebrated speech nominating Mr. Harrison, and alluding to Mr. Lounsbury in terms of utter contempt, as the candidate who came before the convention with his pocket-book pinned to his coat tail.

After the decisive ballot had been cast and the convention had taken a recess, Mr. Fessenden asked a mutual acquaintance

to introduce him to me. The introduction occurred and conversation followed; but Mr. Fessenden showed not the slightest feeling or indignation at having heard the candidate he had brought forward, publicly characterized as a pocket-book candidate.

During the two years and more that have passed since that convention, and up to this moment of time, I have never heard Mr. Fessenden nor any other man say that Mr. Lounsbury was not the sole subject of Mr. Case's celebrated "pocket-book" invective, or say that Mr. Lounsbury did not deserve that terrible castigation. But I have been told that Mr. Case ruined his own political fortunes, when he had the moral courage to publicly utter what many men privately said.

Lynde Harrison has betrayed himself to me by publishing in the New Haven Union of September 19, 1886, an "interview" on Lounsbury's canvass. That interview contains one statement which is substantially contradicted by a long letter signed by S. Fessenden, and by a shorter letter written throughout and signed by Lynde Harrison himself, both of which letters are in my left hand, while I am writing these words with my right. That interview contains one other positive statement, which I personally know to be diametrically contrary to what really occurred. But in justice to Mr. Lynde Harrison I will add that it relates to a topic upon which it never was possible for him to have any personal knowledge. That interview contains one other statement which purports to be made upon information, but which I personally know to be entirely unfounded in fact. That interview contains still a fourth statement ascribing certain joint action to Mr. Scofield of Stamford, Mr. Turner of Waterbury, and Mr. Paige of Danbury, which action, as I am informed by one of those gentlemen, never occurred.

Some of the statements in Mr. Harrison's interview relate to points outside of my personal knowledge; but in view of its known divergence from truth in the foregoing particulars, it will not be expected of me to believe any uncorroborated part of the residue.

Allen W. Paige was the agent through whom the Lounsbury

managers probably secured more votes in the late convention than through any other one man. His active and efficient work was recognized by the supporters and by the opposers of Mr. Lounsbury. Late in the evening of September 8, 1886: the evening before the nomination of Mr. Lounsbury, I was standing in the main public room of the Allyn House in Hartford, in conversation with Mr. S. A. Hubbard, the managing editor of the Courant, Mr. Charles E. Mitchell of New Britain, and a gentleman who was introduced to me by Mr. Hubbard as Mr. Chamberlain of Meriden. Nothing had been said by any one in that group about current politics, when Allen W. Paige joined us. I knew Mr. Paige personally, and all the others appeared to have his acquaintance. Salutations had hardly been exchanged, when Mr. Hubbard said: "Mr. Walker, you have been around a good deal this evening; what do you think the prospects are for the nomination?" I replied, pointing my finger toward Mr. Paige: "I think this man has got in his work, and that Lounsbury will be nominated on the first ballot." Instantly I observed Mr. Paige's face grow pale, as he answered rather hesitatingly: "I don't know about my work; but I think Mr. Lounsbury has a great many friends in the convention." I then said to Mr. Paige. "I have asked many persons to give me a legitimate reason for nominating Mr. Lounsbury; but no one has ever done so. You are a particular friend of his, and probably know whatever reason there is. Please, therefore, to tell me some one proper reason for such a nomination." Mr. Paige replied by saying that such reasons were stated in the New Haven Union some weeks before. To this I rejoined that I had not seen that newspaper, and could not conveniently obtain a copy; and that it would take him but a moment to tell me whatever legitimate reason he knew of, for the nomination in question. To this Mr. Paige answered, that as I was not a member of the convention, it was not necessary for me to have any information on the subject. I replied that I had a vote to cast at the election, and desired to cast it intelligently. Then Mr. Paige closed this part of the dialogue by saying: "Mr. Walker, you will vote the Republi-

can ticket anyhow." I considered this remark to have sprung from Mr. Paige's lack of full acquaintance with my habit of thinking for myself, and made no reply to it whatever. Instead of doing so I said: "Are you a relative of D. R. Paige of Akron, Ohio: the man who managed the canvass of Henry B. Payne when he was nominated for United States Senator?" Mr. Paige replied "No," and Mr. Hubbard added, "He is not a relative of D. R. Paige, but he is a man of similar qualifications." Thus the last shot in the conversation was fired by Mr. Hubbard, for Mr. Paige immediately left us, and the group thereupon dispersed. To understand the real significance of Mr. Hubbard's Parthian arrow, one fact must be called to mind, which Mr. Hubbard as a journalist must have known, and which indeed is now notorious among intelligent men throughout the United States. I refer to the fact, that when D. R. Paige was conducting the Payne canvass, ex-Lieutenant Governor Mueller of Ohio saw undenied evidences of bribery in the room of that representative of the name of Paige.

Third. Those facts which indicate the opinion which is really entertained on the subject by his secondary supporters.

In the afternoon of the day before the nomination of Phineas C. Lounsbury was accomplished, I was standing in an out-door inclosure, about a rod square, just east of the judge's stand, at Charter Oak Park, viewing the bicycle races. There were twenty or more persons in that inclosure, when William H. Goodrich, one of the four proprietors of the Hartford Courant, and its business manager, came to me and engaged in political conversation. The subject was just introduced, when I said: "What is it that makes Mr. Lounsbury a prominent candidate for governor?" Mr. Goodrich replied: "Nothing but his pocket-book."

At one time during the evening before Lounsbury's nomination was accomplished, I was standing in the large public room of the Allyn House in Hartford, engaged in conversation with two gentlemen. One of them was John R. Buck, the present Republican member of Congress from the First District of Connecticut, and now the regular Republican nominee for re-elec-

tion to that office; and the other one was Arthur F. Eggleston, Mr. Buck's law partner, and ardent political supporter. Our topic of conversation did not relate to politics, until William C. Case, who again, as in 1884, was a delegate to the Republican convention, and who well known to all three of us, approached the group. Thereupon Mr. Buck, who has a quiet humor of his own, with mock solemnity, introduced Mr. Case to Mr. Eggleston, designating the latter as Mr. Lounsbury. Mr. Case instantly took the humorous hint, and, seizing Mr. Eggleston by the arm, drew him apart saying, eagerly: "I want to *see* you." Mr. Eggleston also caught the witty infection and replied: "I have already *seen* you once. How many times do you expect me to *see* you?" Mr. Case replied by insisting that when *seen* before, the amount paid him for his vote was less than the prevailing price, and that enough more must be paid him to make up the difference. Thus the badinage went on for some moments, till Mr. Case turned away, saying: "Mr. Lounsbury, I will see you later."

Now all this was pure sport, but no such scene would have occurred if those gentlemen had not believed that Mr. Lounsbury's votes were being obtained by transactions in the nature of bribery. It is only when such transactions become so notorious as to be generally accepted in private as undeniable, that such men as Buck, Eggleston and Case make them the subject of open jest in public places.

On the day of Lounsbury's nomination, I sat, while the convention was assembling, in one of the lower stage-boxes of Allyn Hall, looking at the delegates. While thus musing, Mr. William C. Case came into the box and took a seat by my side. The humorous mood of the night before had entirely disappeared from his demeanor, and he began to philosophize very impressively on the power of money in politics. Speaking of Governor Harrison's nomination in 1884, he said it was sufficiently wonderful that even in one case, transcendent merit had triumphed over obtrusive wealth, and that it was too much to expect two such triumphs in succession. As he went on, his native solemn eloquence shone forth, and strongly tended to

confirm my already formed intention to repudiate the inevitable nomination of Phineas C. Lounsbury.

On the morning after the publication of my address of September 10, and while I was writing my address of the following day, I was called upon in my office, by one of the very ablest and most prominent of the delegates in the convention which accomplished the Lounsbury nomination. I will not publish this gentlemen's name, because he is so situated in life that he cannot afford to encounter the enmity of Lounsbury, or the enmity of his powerful supporters. For his sake solely, I will designate him as Mr. C. This Mr. C. clasped me warmly by the hand, and said substantially the following words: "I am sorry that I am so situated that I cannot join you in the course you have taken. But I want to say to you that you are right, and to urge you not to yield an inch. Don't let up on them! Don't let up on them!" I thanked Mr. C. for his sympathy, but I made no inquiries of him, and gave him no information, except to tell him that I felt sure of my ground.

Fourth. Those facts which point to specific cases of payments in the nature of bribery.

Soon after the nomination of Lounsbury, I met, in business, a certain well known manufacturer of Hartford, whose word is entirely reliable. This gentleman said to me that it would be injurious to his business if his name was published as authority for what he knew, but that fortunately the point in question could be verified without the publication of his name. Therefore I will not publish it, but will designate him as Mr. D. This Mr. D. then told me that he had heard a conversation between a certain citizen of Hartford and a certain citizen of Glastenbury, both of whom were personally known to him. Mr. D., proceeded, thereupon, to tell me, that this Hartford citizen said, in this conversation, that he did not believe that any delegate was bribed to vote for Lounsbury; and that this Glastenbury citizen replied that he himself knew of two delegates who received \$50 each, to so vote.

This incident will not at present be laid any further open by

me ; but I am ready to confide the name of the Glastenbury man to the State's Attorney for Hartford County, in order that he may prosecute such inquiries relevant to the alleged crime, as to him may seem suitable ; and if the State's Attorney for Tolland County will confer with me, I will furnish him with a clue which may possibly lead to the just prosecution of delegates from two certain towns in his jurisdiction, who came to Hartford intending to vote for Morgan G. Bulkeley for Governor, but who did vote for the nomination of Phineas C. Lounsbury.

Of the foregoing facts ; the first class convinces me, that nothing but payments and promises, in the nature of bribery, could have accomplished the nomination of such a man as Phineas C. Lounsbury, for Governor of Connecticut ; and the second class convinces me, that Fessenden, Harrison, Sperry and Paige would not, and did not, join to forward that nomination, without such payments and promises ; and the third class convinces me, that the fact of such payments and promises is notorious among the present supporters of Mr. Lounsbury ; while the fourth class raises a strong presumption that such payments and promises can be established in court by direct legal evidence.

Thus I have stated in this pamphlet, what convinces me, that the nomination of Phineas C. Lounsbury, for Governor of Connecticut, which was lately accomplished in the Connecticut Republican convention, was accomplished by payments and promises which were of the nature of bribery.

ALBERT H. WALKER.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,
September 25, 1886.

